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THIRTEEN turbulent years ago the announcement was made of a nation reborn. It sounded strange at an hour when seven member states of the United Nations were preparing their armies to march into a country which had already been practically at war for over five months. But there was confidence in the hearts of the people. Perhaps they did not altogether realize the dangers ahead. Perhaps they were injured to danger by unquiet years and long months of "disturbances." There was, too, the excitement of great, inevitable changes.

The people were anything but united, 13 years ago. Not only was there a Hagana and an I.Z.L. and an L.H.Y., but there was also the Palmach with its distinctive philosophy of life and an autonomous military staff. None of the existing political parties was willing to yield up an iota of its own variety of political thought. The Declaration of Independence itself turned out a long, obscurely phrased document, after lengthy discussions over every sentence, so that each of the parties composing the provisional authority of the about-to-be-born nation could read into it exactly what it wanted.

But there was no doubt about the final goal for which the whole nation fought. There was to be a state where Jews would be the masters of their own destiny, where they would be able to be Jews by being what they were, where they would cease to apologize for their existence as they had done in most of the countries of their dispersal.

In the 13 years that have passed, there has been a lot of dissimilarity either internally or externally. There was a state where Jews would be the masters of their own destiny, where they would be able to be Jews by being what they were, where they would cease to apologize for their existence as they had done in most of the countries of their dispersal.

There was more than one choked sob in the courtroom when Mr. Hauser, in describing conditions in the Drancy camp in France, said: "The police and the gendarmes, hard people, not easily moved, could not hide their own feelings... the children did not weep; they walked terrified, disciplined, miserable, and complied with the orders like a flock of sheep, one helping the other... the children cried and refused to leave their mattresses... The gendarmes would enter the hall, take up the children in their arms as they screamed with fear, struggling and snatching at each other... the scene was too terrible for even the 'hardest of men to bear'."

Sweets Before Gassing And in the Maidank camp, near Lublin, a woman obstinately refused to let go of her baby. "An S.S. man approached her, smashed the child's head on the ground, and then handed the woman the blood-soaked body with the words: 'Now take your child.'"

"You will hear this woman's evidence," Mr. Hauser said. But in Maidank there was one place where the children were treated kindly: at the entrance to the gas chamber each one was handed a sweet.

The work of Raoul Wallenberg, a Swedish diplomat in Hungary, who worked to save thousands of Jews, was recalled with pride. Said Mr. Hauser: "All this was the work of one courageous man, who had the strength to act according to his convictions and beliefs. His deeds, like those of King Christian of Denmark, give us a lesson."

In the final count it is the people of Israel which will decide its future, and not the pressure exerted by neighbors. They must decide what is leadership and what is personal ambition, what is policy and what is mere belief. If the next Independence Day is to be celebrated in peace and prosperity, surely it should not take external dangers to make us appreciate unity in our bar mitzva year.

SAVE FOR A RAINY DAY...



Hausner: Will Prove Eichmann Sparked, Executed Holocaust More Extreme Than Hitler'

By MACABEE DEAN, Jerusalem Post Reporter

"The privilege that Adolf Eichmann withheld from every one of his victims—the right to defend himself—is being granted here." With these words, Mr. Gideon Hausner on Tuesday morning concluded his opening address to the Court convened at Beit Ha'am in Jerusalem.

"Eichmann," the Attorney-General said, "will be able to defend himself before this court. His fate will be decided according to law and according to evidence, with the burden of proof upon the prosecution. And the judges of Israel will pronounce true and just judgment."

A few minutes earlier, Mr. Hausner said that "we shall prove Eichmann's guilt as planner, initiator, organizer and executor of the 'final solution' of the Jewish problem in all its ramifications."

He feared, however, that even after submitting all the material and all the evidence, he would have been able to give no more than a pale reflection of the enormous human and national tragedy which occurred to Jewry in this generation.

Eichmann sat still and impassive in his glass dock, slightly slumped in his chair, his hands clasped together while these words were being spoken.

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EIGHT PAGES



A-G Describes 'Master Plan'

By DORIS LANKIN, First Legal Correspondent

In the chapter of his opening address delivered yesterday to the Eichmann Court on the extermination of the Jews of Northern, Western, Central and Southern Europe, the Attorney-General described the master plan which served as a prototype for the anti-Jewish campaigns in the whole of Europe.

The campaign always started with anti-Jewish legislation, by means of which the Jews were deprived of their civil rights. The next step was the concentration of Jews in camps and special neighborhoods, and the pilage of their property. And then came the final step—deportation to the death-camps of the East.

Dutch Jewry The Attorney-General then described in detail the fate of the Jewish communities of those parts of Europe other than Eastern Europe, starting off with the tragedy of Dutch Jewry.

In Holland, for the first time, the Nazis encountered resistance on the part of the non-Jewish population to the abominations they committed against the Jews. A general strike was declared in Amsterdam in February 1941. It spread to Utrecht and Hilversum. But the strike was quickly and thoroughly smashed by Nazi might and terror and the extermination process proceeded according to plan. The transfer of Jews to the notorious Ellersloo Camp, and to other labor camps at Vught and Westerbek, began. Many Jews went into hiding. The Nazis ferreted them out in frequent man-hunts and by offering large rewards to anyone who revealed their presence. The deportations from Holland began in July of that year and by the end of 1942 only a handful of the 140,000 Jews of Holland remained. About 120,000 were deported to the extermination camps of Poland and elsewhere. Of those about 3,000 survived.

Payoff to Satellites At first the Jews of foreign nationality presented a problem. This problem was quickly solved by Eichmann's office. They ruled that Germany would "surrender" her right to receive the property of German Jews resident in foreign countries, after they were sent to the extermination camps in return for the property of those foreign Jews resident in Germany or in occupied countries. This served as a tempting bribe to satellite countries to deport their Jews of foreign citizenship and confiscate their property.

In Norway, the Norwegians resisted the extermination campaign and brought upon themselves a campaign of bloodstained terror. The underground did what it could to smuggle the Jews out and (Continued on Page 2, Col. 2.)



Troops and Tanks are shown bivouacked in Jerusalem's Valley of the Cross, in readiness for tomorrow's Independence Day parade. (Map of parade route—Page 3).

ISRAEL NOT HEEDING, DAG TELLS COUNCIL

UNITED NATIONS (Reuter). — Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld informed the Security Council yesterday that Israel had failed to comply with a week-old Council appeal to cancel plans for an Independence Day military parade in Jerusalem.

He also asserted Israel had incorrectly interpreted the Council's resolution by linking two paragraphs which examination of the record of the debate indicated were unconnected.

The Council urged Israel to comply with a M.A.C. appeal to call off the parade, and also requested members of the Commission to "cooperate so as to ensure that the General Armistice Agreement will be complied with."

The marathon meeting of the Israel-Jordan Mixed Armistice Commission continued into the early hours of this morning.

U.N. Unit Adopts Refugee Motion

UNITED NATIONS (Reuter). — The General Assembly's Special Committee yesterday adopted by a 7-0 vote, with 20 abstentions, a draft resolution "recognizing the need to safeguard the property rights of the Arab refugees of Palestine."

(Later, the Committee defeated a U.S.-backed measure aimed at improving the lot of the refugees by a vote of 30-31, with 15 abstentions.) The resolution also recommends that the General Assembly, at its regular session later this year, give "careful consideration" to the future welfare of the refugees, including the means of safeguarding their property rights in Israel.

The resolution noted "with deep regret" that the "situation of the refugees had not been effected in accordance with previous U.N. resolutions, and that no 'final' plan had been made for the resettlement of the refugees by either repatriation or resettlement."

'K' Warns U.S., Urges Halt to Cuba Invasion

Soviet Tanks, Migs Attack Rebels

Kennedy Meets Congress Heads

Prime Minister Khrushchev yesterday warned President Kennedy of the danger of a "chain reaction" in the Cuban crisis leading to catastrophe. He said "it is not too late to prevent the irreparable... The U.S. Government can still prevent the flames of war, kindled by interventionists in Cuba, from spreading into a conflagration which it will be impossible to cope with."

Mr. Khrushchev said there must be "no mistake" about Russia's position — she will give the Castro Government all aid necessary to repulse the armed attacks. He stressed that the Soviet Union is sincerely interested in relaxing international tension, "but if others aggravate it, we shall reply in full measure."

He said the "armed gangs" fighting the Castro regime were trained, armed and equipped in the U.S. He also charged that planes used by the rebels were owned by the U.S.

The U.S. position on Cuba could not be understood, he said, in the light of recent U.S.-Soviet exchanges which dealt with "our mutual wish to exert joint efforts directed towards the improvement of our relations and the prevention of a danger of war."

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He also agreed personally that the U.S. is not endangered by Cuba, but added: "The Soviet Union disregards that many Cubans consider themselves endangered by the present regime in Cuba."

Ecudador, voicing the first official Latin American reaction to the invasion of Cuba, welcomed President Kennedy's declaration of neutrality, but suggested it should be definitely established the invaders did not come from U.S. territory.

Ecudador's delegate, Mr. Leopoldo Benitez, said "it is true we are confronted by a civil war... but this war did not spread within Cuban territory" and "was transported from elsewhere on this continent."

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THE LONG DAY OF REMEMBRANCE

Not Only the Trees, But the Dark Forest is Now Being Seen

By PEARL GOLDNER

REMEMBRANCE Day for the victims and heroes of the Nazi Holocaust was a fateful day with a difference: for we, who have never forgotten, started remembering two days earlier. Our long Remembrance Day dawned on April 11 at nine o'clock in the morning. It will go on, renewing the memory not only of the bereaved mothers, brothers, sisters, wives and husbands, who on that Tuesday morning left all work in hand, stopped in the middle of a conversation, and with an unspoken, tragic blessing listened to the Judge's question, (in Hebrew): "Are you Adolf Eichmann?" then held their breath to hear "him" admit in German: "Ja wohl."

The months of press reports and self-gossip have been managed to state that moment: the mysterious prisoner, whose whereabouts and movements have been top-secret, who has become an almost disembodied, nor-striking name, has suddenly come to life. Eichmann was indeed facing a court in Beit Ha'em in Jerusalem, he was himself who stood up to attention before the judges of Israel. The mills of the Lord grind sure.

"It gave me goose-flesh just to hear his voice," says the Kupat Holim nurse, a native of Czechoslovakia, who was lucky enough to get to her parents before the Nazi extermination machine caught up with them. The doctor sitting next to her, a Concentration Camp number tattooed on his wrist, says nothing but his hands, on capsize and usually so steady, are trembling. It is quite a while before the housewife in the privacy of her home can become her efficient self, wash her eyes and rush off, rather late to the synagogue.

Reminder Needed

All these did not need much reminding. There are others. After the dramatic opening of the trial comes the reading of the long indictment. It does sound like some dull business statistics to many: endless strings of names, dates, numbers of legal paragraphs. The long list of anonymous suffering people, the faded and set resigned, "Missed the beginning of it all, had to change buses, just my luck. I missed the Abayon football game too." This is not a young sabra speaking — the driver happens to be a Polish Jew who left his little Galician town as soon as the Germans entered and managed to survive the war in Russia. Twenty years have dulled his memory.

After a few minutes, he switches the set on again, "die Verückung des Juedischen Volkes."

Here they are, representatives of that people, gathered from the ghettos of Morocco, from the banks and

barren of Alexandria, from villages in the Yemen and the hills of Kurdistan, all citizens, the State of Israel, pushing in the accepted impatient Israeli way into the crowded bus, their faces wearing a look of blank indifference, many hardly paying attention to the broadcast. The bespectacled immigrant from India does lean forward delicately to catch some details of the fate that befell millions of Ashkenazim in faraway places, a historical horror, something like the Black Hole of Calcutta.

The second generation sabra, sitting next to me, is not greatly moved by the recital of camp names. He is on his way to a civil court to settle some dispute with the owner of his workshop. "The whole Nazi business didn't mean much to me in tell you the truth. But a few months ago I was doing my reserve service and we were shown a documentary film on Nazi Germany. Well, I know something now." He has nothing to remember — he has to be told from the beginning.

The trial broadcast goes on. In a calm dignified manner, the German Counsel for the Defence argues technical points, in an equally reserved, objective way the State of Israel Prosecutor fences back, refuting the allegations, quoting interminable precedents. The exchange of legal niceties and formalities goes on.

Dis Irae

Is this indeed the Day of Judgment, dies irae, of which the countless dead dreamed, the Jews, Frenchmen, Poles, Czechs killed like vermin, the women shamed and degraded and robbed of their children, the children, queuing in the murky drizzle to enter the gas chamber...

This is the Day for which the orthodox Jew, led to the slaughter, prayed the coming of the Messiah, the day of the Righteousness of the Almighty, the faith that the year's acquisition of Centurion tanks this branch of our Armed Forces will at last have reached the status of a fully fledged Armoured Corps. Having reached this milestone, it is only natural that we should look back to the time of this corps' conception and the pioneers who contributed so much to build up an Armoured Corps of practically nothing more than their visions and ingenuity.

After having honoured veterans of the British Army (many of whom are our military leaders of today) and Hagana veterans, it is most surprising — and distressing — that we should on this historical day completely disregard the Mochel without whose numbers and expert knowledge we might not have been able to carry on a war against such odds.

In view of the fact that we take such pride in our Armoured Corps, it is equally astonishing that, on this important day, we should hear no mention whatever of the men who actually founded this corps with three decrepit tanks, a few Hotchkiss and a number of armoured cars. I am of course referring to the late Aluf Itzhak Sadeh and Rav Seren Her-

zenstadt, tried at Nuremberg and hanged in an atmosphere of moral shock and revulsion at the "Requiem of the Swastika" as described by one of the British Prosecutors, Lord Russell.

The newspapers that 20-odd years ago avoided mentioning the deportations, reported the gas chambers in small print or dismissed the unpleasant rumours of piles of living skeletons transported across occupied Europe as fantastic exaggerations, are now vying with

YESTERDAY'S PRESS

DEBATE ON SPY CASE

The Histadrut daily, Davar, yesterday drew heavy fire from that part of the press against which it editorially leveled criticism on Monday for lack of restraint in reporting Sunday's story of the Beer arrest.

Haboker (General Zionist) writes that Davar's reaction is characteristic and its confused attempt to blur the gravity of the matter by indulging in polemics with the rest of the press will not alter the fact that the incident is a grave one and that the circumstances in which Beer was given access to secrets does jeopardize our security.

Herut notes that though Davar had had a full week to mull over the news, the day it was cleared for publication it preferred to discuss the new investment company instead of dealing with the case; "presumably it was waiting for

one another for bigger and better pictures of Eichmann, are sending star correspondents to report on all the trivia of the trial.

Now that the Attorney-General has given his opening address we begin to see not only the trees, but also the dark forest that has been silent too long. Now the voices choked with dust will speak up, and across the television screens millions of viewers will feel the presence of a patient, endless row of witnesses.

Task Still Unfinished

Excerpts from President Ben-Zvi's Independence Day Message

As the thirteenth year of the establishment of the State of Israel, its Bar Mitzva year, comes to an end, I send my sincerest greetings to all its citizens, to all who dwell in it, to the whole House of Israel, to the Army, and to all our Security Forces, to stand on guard night and day to protect the Homeland and keep it safe. May your hands be strengthened!

Before all else, let us on this day, the eve of the Day of Independence, recall the blessed memory of our sons and daughters, our brothers and sisters, who fell in the War of Liberation, in the Sinai Campaign, and in the defence of the Homeland.

The year that has gone by was rich in memorable anniversaries of the recent past. It was a year of construction and development of the land, and the revival of its deserts; a year of progress in industry, in agriculture and commerce; a year of immigration and of the efforts to integrate it; a year of progress in foreign relations, in our ties of friendship with the peoples of the world, and especially with the new nations which have come into being in the expanses of Africa and have already learned to value young Israel. Cultural links, too, have become stronger, and amicable relations have been cultivated with countries old in their civilizations.

At the same time, let us not overlook the fact that throughout the world we are still remote from that lofty goal, just as we are ourselves distant from fulfilment of our national purpose in its completeness in our own land. The supreme task laid upon the first immigrants of pioneers of the Homeland — to till it and to guard it — that task is unfinished yet, it is before us yet: in the Negro and even in the Jewish deserts, we still have to witness the energetic hand of yeomen to redeem it from its barrenness and make it fit to absorb immigrants. The Homeland still requires protection and a firm stand against enemy and assault, and it is our duty, therefore, to prepare the young generation that is growing up for the tasks that face it — labour, defence and integration of the ingathered exiles.

Immigration has not ceased, nor will it cease, and so years for the assemblage of the dispersed from all lands, from those too, where the gates are still shut.

It is pleasant to testify to the living and unbreakable link between the State of Israel and all the Jews of the Diaspora. We know how to prize the loyal and fraternal aid, the impressive support, moral, political and economic, which are extended to the State of Israel in all its tribulations and struggles by our brothers and sisters in the Diaspora.

As a new year dawns for us again, this fourteenth year of the State, we are confronted with new elections. I am convinced that the citizens of Israel will spare no effort to lend those elections the forms appropriate to our people, will reinforce unity above dissension.

Our democratic regime entitles every person in Israel, citizen and resident, to the right of election to the Knesset in the Party most congenial to his way of thinking, in the one on which he can rely. Let us, nevertheless, remember that with all the differences of opinion as to the manner in which the country should elect its parliament, there is one thing which holds us together: the well-being of the State. If we remember this, we shall succeed in emerging from the elections with honour.

At the beginning of the fourteenth year of our independence, it has become our prerogative to place on trial the leaders of the State, the leaders of the Jewish people, the criminals who exterminated millions of our people. It is to our credit to have set up a court of justice, according to the laws of Israel, administered by judges of Israel before the eyes of the whole world.

Let me conclude my message with the words of the vision of the Prophet Obadiah, which is being fulfilled to our own behoof: "And savours shall come up on Mount Zion to judge the mount of Esau; and the kingdom shall be the Lord's."

Yours, etc.

MACHAL WIFE
(Name and Address Supplied)
Ramat Hasharon, April 9.

ARMOURD CORPS

Editor, The Jerusalem Post

Sir, — As in past years, the focus of the Independence Day Military Parade will be centred on the Armoured Corps, and with this year's acquisition of Centurion tanks this branch of our Armed Forces will at last have reached the status of a fully fledged Armoured Corps. Having reached this milestone, it is only natural that we should look back to the time of this corps' conception and the pioneers who contributed so much to build up an Armoured Corps of practically nothing more than their visions and ingenuity.

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CHALLENGE OF ISRAEL TO JEWISH YOUTH

By David Ben-Gurion

NOT Israel alone but all of Jewry — and first and foremost American Jewry — today faces grave problems in a confrontation which is likely to determine its future for better or for worse. American Jewry, the greatest body of contemporary Jewry, gives serious cause for concern to every loyal, straight-thinking Jew, being as it is in a process of unconscious assimilation.

In Western Europe, the assimilationists propounded the idea of Jewish self-denial. There is almost no support for this in America; indeed, American Jews conceal their Jewish origin, and few of them suffer because they are Jewish. There is almost no similarity between Jewish life in America and what Jewish life was in Europe. Two kinds of states existed in Europe: empires like Russia and Austria, which recognized the national languages of these groups, and national states like Italy and France, where no difference was recognized between citizenship and ethnicity. Every French or Italian subject was a member of the French or Italian nation. The United States, on the other hand, is neither an ethno-national state nor grants special recognition to the existence of ethnic groups within its borders. American citizens are American citizens, and the U.S. is not yet, however, a national state with two thousand years of history behind it like France and Italy, for it is composed of immigrants and children of immigrants from all the lands of Europe, Asia and Africa and contains numerous communities based on the lands of origin of the immigrants.

Future with U.S. Youth

THERE are still quite a few American Jews of the old generation whose comrades in the Zionist Organization of 50 and 60 years ago left a deep impression on them. And if they were never partners to the Zionism of European Jewry — recognition of Jewish national uniqueness and a desire to leave the goyim and settle in the ancestral homeland to live a full Hebrew-Jewish cultural life — the Zionists of America did share in the profound experiences that stirred the Jewish masses in Europe: the appearance of the fascinating personality that was Herzl; the founding of the World Zionist Organization, which created the illusion of Jewish sovereignty; the debate with the anti-Zionists, who opposed the idea of a "Jewish National Home."

But the Jewish future in the U.S. (and on the whole American continent) lies with the young generation — to which the Zionist Organization does not mean a thing. The classics of Pinsker and Herzl ("Auto-Emancipation" and "The Jewish State") — if they should ever happen

to read them, would strike no responsive chord in them; indeed, I doubt they would understand what Pinsker and Herzl were talking about. The description of the Jewish situation in these two essays is actually at all on the situation of American Jewry as the Jews who were born and brought up in America see it. The personal reminiscences of the veterans of the Zionist Organization of America and their clinging to the Zionist label are not food for the spirit of the young generation.

Waving the flag of Zionism without any personal commitment or at least aspiration to come and settle in Zion is not likely to command even respect among the young generation. "Jewish National Home," which was the ideological essence of American Zionism, is now a thing of the past. The Jewish State is a fact and it alone can interest the young generation — even the youth who have no intention of settling in Israel. But help comes to Israel from all American Jews except the

hostile groups of the right and the left: the American Council for Judaism, the assimilationist plutocracy, and the Jewish Communists. Even political support in the domain of all American Jewry, Mr. Jacob Blaustein helps no less than the President of the Zionist Organization of America. The only organization doing important work for Israel which is unmatched by any other organization in Hadassah, per se, is the largest Jewish organization in the United States. But I doubt that a number of Hadassah, except for the leadership, necessarily has a deeper Jewish consciousness than an American Jewish woman who is not a member. And except for Herzl, Bialik and one or two others, not a single Hadassah leader has come to settle in this country, and not one of the thousands of members is as much as thinking of doing so.

Strengthening Jewish Consciousness

AMERICAN Jewry needs strengthening of its Jewish consciousness and its awareness of Jewish history. Jewish history does not begin with the coming of the First Zionist Congress in Basle 64 years ago. It begins in the days of the Patriarch Abraham. Since the designation "Zionist" does not obligate those who bear it (according to the proclamation of the leaders of the Zionist Organization and the resolutions of its official organs), it cannot possibly bolster Judaism, deepen Jewish consciousness, safeguard the unity of world Jewry, or strengthen the State of Israel.

The problem of Diaspora Jewry is not "how to make the Jewish people through-out the Diaspora more Zionist in its consciousness, organizational life, and activity," as one of the two Chairmen of the 20th Zionist Congress, Moshe Sharett, contends. The problem is rather how to make the Jews of the Diaspora more Jewish in their consciousness, their sense of unity, their education, and their public life.

It would be possible to deal with the problem, thus, if there arose a world Jewish organization which would concentrate on two things: Hebrew education for the young generation in the Diaspora, and increasing the personal link of this generation with Israel.

And the "Zionist" organization would render the Jewish people a great historic service by retiring from a scene on which it no longer belongs and turning itself into a nucleus for a "World Jewish Organization" drawing its strength and its vision not from the last 60 years but from all the four thousand years of Jewish history.

We shall not deepen the Jewish consciousness of American Jewry with the 50- or 60-year-old recollections of old-time Zionists. These recollections bear no message for Jewish youth today. From two sources, and two sources alone, can the young generation draw any Jewish inspiration:

• from 4,000-year-old Judaism with its spiritual creations, its ethical aspirations, and the remarkable moral heroism with which it faced a hostile world, with which it faced the inquisition, pogroms, massacres; and



The Prime Minister, Mr. David Ben-Gurion, questions American Jewish students at the Hebrew University on their reaction to Israel. The students came for a year's study.

berlin Government decided that this was the best and most hopeful solution. The Zionist Camp was divided: Unshkin, Ben-Zion, Katsnelson and Stephen Wise of blessed memory, and Golda Meir and Yitzhak Tabenkin were among leading opponents of partition. Dr. Weizmann, most of the Zionist Congress delegates and I were in favour. But even those who favoured partition were not sure. It would really materialize. It was not certain whether it would be possible to accept the statehood plan proposed by the Mandatory Government unless the Jewish demands, which seemed the minimum required to assure that a Jewish state would survive and serve its purpose, were met. There was a possibility that the Arabs would use force to prevent a Jewish state from being established. But the gravest doubts pertained to the Mandatory Government. We were by no means convinced that the Chamberlain Government would stand by its "best and most hopeful solution," and would not change its mind next day.

But in 1937 the establishment of a Jewish state became a reality on the international scene, and even the most extreme supporters of the idea (I was among them) knew well that the Jewish state would not be like other states — an end in itself — but a means of bringing the scattered Jewish exiles home at last. Only in this role would the Jewish State justify its existence and also safeguard it. All its activities, therefore — political and economic, domestic and international — would have to be carried out with a view to expanding its absorption and settlement possibilities. The creation of such a state would not be possible without a great pioneering effort and unless Diaspora Jewry joined forces with Palestinian Jewry — the new state's first citizens.

At that time there appeared in a Zionist newspaper in Poland an article by one of the extremist supporters of partition — Mr. Yitzhak Gruenbaum. Mr. Gruenbaum, one-time leader of Polish Jewry, maintained that after the Jewish State had been established the Zionist Organization would be redundant. I took sharp issue with Gruenbaum, and argued that "According to (Mr. Gruenbaum), the Zionist Organization will be redundant because the Zionist job will be done by the Jewish State. This assumption

In my humble opinion, all generations of Jews — starting with the Maccabees and even earlier — have a share in the establishment of the State. We came because of the vision of the longing to see the aspiration of these generations, and not only because of the Basle Congress. But the actual builders, with their own body and soul, were the immigrants, and the building will go on being done by immigrants, although they will go on seeding the help of the entire Jewish people. Is there really no distinction between Moshe Sharett's late father, Yacov Shertok, that pioneer among pioneers and his comrades and those who followed them — and those in the Diaspora who help with their money and goodwill? Would all the money in the world and the sincerest love in the world be of any use if Jews did not come here to settle?

What is more, everybody is free to give money and sympathy; and we should be making a grave, perhaps fatal mistake if in stressing the needs of the State of Israel we were to forget about the needs of Diaspora Jewry: the strengthening of their Jewish consciousness and awareness of their affinity to Israel even as they go on living in the Diaspora. And this is a task only for a "World Jewish Organization" based on love of the Jewish people, a deep feeling for the long history of our people, and a real concern for the people's future. Jews possessing these qualities are to be found not only in the "Zionist" organization, but also in other Jewish bodies — the only thing capable of uniting them being the designation "Jew" which they all accept, and which has far deeper and far more ancient meaning than the designation "Zionist."

The concern for the strengthening of Diaspora Jewry and the deepening of their Jewish consciousness by providing young people with a sound Hebrew education are far more important than this sticking to names and ideas which are irrelevant to the new facts of Jewish life.

Inspiration, Not Zionist Phrases

CONCERN has been expressed for Mr. X in Sydney and Mr. Y in Melbourne and their counterparts in Johannesburg, Manchester, and faraway Helsinki who are but by the statement of the truth that the designation "Zionist" has lost the meaning it had among European Jewry. But if the price of this concern is the neglect of the historic and fateful needs of the Jewish people in the Diaspora and in Israel, then it only reflects a pattern of thought and emotion that feeds upon the past and ignores the future. And the Jewish people must live in the future, and must maintain its Jewishness not by keeping it static, but by drawing both on our entire past and on the great things in store for us in the State of Israel.

These prospects, however, assume the immigration of the capable young Jews from the prosperous lands. And they will not be inspired to come here by "Zionist" phrases, but by the glory of the creative and revolutionary pioneering undertaking in Israel — if the message of that undertaking is properly brought to the Jewish youth of the Diaspora.



Children born on the day the State of Israel was proclaimed are received by President Ben-Zvi during the Tenth Anniversary celebrations. This year the children will light the Bar Mitzvah torches on Mt. Zion.

State Bar Mitzva Boy Lost Father for Independence

"YEHIAM, someone's looking for you." A handsome, cheerful-looking lad came trotting over from the group of youngsters waiting outside Beit Ha'am in Sharon for the village cinema to open. Greeting me with a friendly smile, the dreamy-eyed boy walked with me to his home nearby.

Yehiam Blumenson-Primer was born eight weeks after his father, Menahem Blumenson, fell on the Sijezek Street in the battle against the forces of Kaukji in the War of Liberation. Yehiam is proud of his father, who fell with a rifle in his hands. At the same time, he loves his stepfather, Zvi Primer, a teacher-farmer, whom Yehiam and his older sister have never called anything but "father."

Received by President

Yehiam is aware of the historic significance of the fact that he was born on 5 Iyar 5708, the day the State was proclaimed, when with another 100-odd children born in that year he was invited to an audience with the President on the Tenth Anniversary of the declaration. Ever since, he has felt that this fact obligates him "somehow," though he is not certain exactly how.

His comrades treat him with a certain deference ever since he was invited to light the 13th Anniversary Bar Mitzvah torches on Mt. Herzl in Jerusalem. The Independence Day, as though they expect something special of him. And Yehiam sensed this "something" that sets him apart from his friends who were born on just any day.

Meanwhile he is studying hard at the Kadoury Agri-

cultural School — his favourite subjects being geography, arithmetic, and the Bible. He does not neglect his stamp collection, can always be counted on to do his chores around the farm, and plays hard in the village football team — "Oh, I play in all the positions." He enjoys tending the milking machines, and has made a name for himself as something of an expert in the cowshed — he wants to be an electrician — Yehiam continues to learn all there is to learn about the maintenance of these machines, and even the veteran farmers of the village keep calling on him for help and advice. His mother, Esther, complains that Yehiam loves to take apart anything that ticks or turns, and the more complicated the machinery the better. Once he even wanted to take a tractor apart. But he also knows how to put things back together again.

Still, his mother reports, "he doesn't neglect his rabbits, and doesn't miss a session with the Rabbi from Yavnei who is teaching him the Haftara he will have to read in the synagogue on his Bar Mitzvah day."

Yehiam was getting fidgety: His friends, Yigal, Shraga, and Avi, were waiting for him outside to go to the cinema. And he is very busy these days. He has been invited to take part in a special Kol Yisrael broadcast and promised his friends to say a word to them over the radio. He also has to "appear" in the film that will recall the torch lighting ceremony — this requires "rehearsals" — and to make public appearances scheduled for him by various institutions. I wished this busy fellow the best of luck and left him to his own affairs.

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STRATEGY, SECURITY AND DETERRENTS

'Third Round' May be Avoided Only by Maintaining Respect for Defence Forces

By Shimon Peres

OUR military and strategic problems are unique in that the Arabs do not have specific objectives such as the seizure of a particular piece of land or watershed. They are determined to destroy Israel as an independent Jewish State and no compromise is acceptable to them. It is therefore a delusion to imagine that we can find any solution based on accommodation.

The Arab states have a population exceeding ours thirty-fold; behind them is a powerful support from 320 million Moslems throughout the world. Over 100,000 Arab students attend universities at home or abroad. They are backed by the financial and military might of the Soviet bloc and by several African and Asian countries. Economically they enjoy vast revenues from oil and, as payment for their neutrality both the West and the East contribute aid to keep them "neutralized." Oil alone brings them \$11,000m. a year.

From the military point of view, they have about 40 organized brigades, thousands of tanks compared with the 1200 that Montgomery massed for the battle of El Alamein, hundreds of jet aircraft and a growing navy that includes nine new submarines. Hundreds of Soviet instructors are stationed in the Arab countries, and thousands of Arab

Thirdly, it opened the way from Egypt to Africa.

I believe that the Arabs calculate that their first problem from a military point of view is to stop navigation both through the Suez Canal and the Tiran Strait, to avoid better contacts between Israel and Africa.

From 1954 to 1960, we had a period of aftermath, of after-war. The Egyptians were again tired and frustrated, they had learnt a new lesson, and were afraid that there might be a real alliance between Israel and the West to attack Egypt.

The entire strategy of the Egyptians was designed to meet such an eventuality. I believe that this explains why Egypt built such a heavy navy. They cannot conquer the Negev with ships and Jerusalem is not a port. They were afraid that they were going to meet a combination of Israel and Western forces.

But, since 1960, Israel is again the focus of the Arab military effort. The Arabs have now reached the conclusion that Israel can be attacked alone and will be left to defend herself during such an attack.

Nasser is now using two slogans. One he calls "Arab nationalism" and the other he calls "positive neutrality." "Arab nationalism" is really a drive to take over the other Arab lands and peoples and to put them under his rule. But he is facing a dilemma. He cannot have a war without an Arab union. He cannot have an Arab union without a war against Israel, but in order to attack Israel he has to unite the Arab



British-made Centurion tank, a recent hard-hitting addition to the Israel Army. The Centurions will be shown to the public for the first time during the parade today.

an international problem in the cold war, whereby the Russian help will be met by a Western counter-attack at the same time, and they want military aid from Russia.

Israel knows that her greatest hope of military survival is to be left alone, if attacked, to cope with the Arab military strength, but in order to avoid war, we would like to have the greatest possible world interest used to stop such an attack.

Arab Priorities In crystallizing their strategy, the Arabs have set themselves certain priorities. First, to get rid of the West. Nasser is really deeply suspicious of the West. He thinks that the West is an unfriendly and a competitive force in the Middle East and many bases and interests opposed to Arab independence and nationality.

Secondly, he would like to cause a deterioration of the situation in three Arab countries, namely Jordan, Lebanon and Iraq, in this order of priority. If he could take over Jordan, he would have territorial continuity between Syria and Egypt. He would unite a major part of the Arab population and he would have a large and strong single Arab country, maybe the largest and strongest in the Arab world. He aims also at Lebanon, because Lebanon is weak and unstable.

Iraq is different. Basically, Iraq really should be neutral, because it is a military point of view of the Iraqis want the arms of the East, while from an economic point of view they want the West to go on buying oil. Nasser has the impression — which, in my opinion, is correct — that Russia, like the West, is interested in a separation between Iraq and Egypt. The Russians are trying to keep a very delicate balance between the strength of Iraq and that of Egypt.

The third priority in the strategic aims of Nasser is an attack against Israel. Our impression is that some Egyptian strategists are thinking very much of something like Pearl Harbour, a sudden attack after concentrating a great bombardment against Israel, to destroy her in a short time, because the world cannot allow a long war. It is dangerous. But Nasser himself may be much more prudent and careful, weighing the possibilities of such an attack falling. He wonders what will happen to him? He knows that success is not a certainty and the risks are as great as the hopes.

For this reason we reach the fourth priority, the point of view which, I believe, Nasser champions: the use for the weakening of Israel, either internally or economically or militarily. Thus what has happened here in recent months appears in the eyes of the Egyptians to be a weakening of our internal strength.

In 1955 they thought they were going to have superiority in arms. Later they thought that Israel was economically weak and would collapse. Today their greatest

hope is based on our "internal situation."

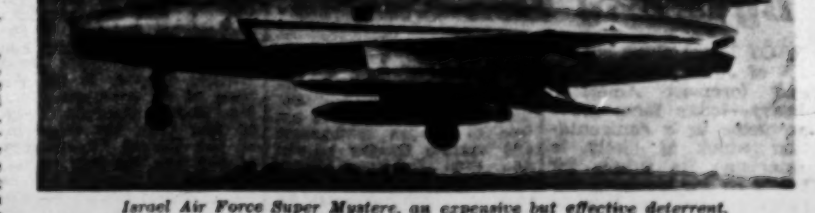
In considering these aims, I am sure that the Egyptians, like us, try to estimate the attitudes of the East and the West in the Middle East. At the beginning, the difference was between military aid and economic aid. The East gave arms and the West gave money. But now both the East and the West are helping economically and financially — but with a difference. When a Russian mission arrives in Africa or the Middle East, they ask what the country concerned wants and agree to supply whatever is requested. This makes an immediate impression.

When an American mission comes, its first problem is how to fulfill the rules laid down by the American Congress, not how to satisfy the immediate desires of the local country, so that no American will write a book like the "Ugly American," and no Senator will ask any critical questions.

Now, by doing little and saying much, the Russians create much more goodwill and prestige than the Americans with their sincere and lavish aid. The Americans are also very legal-minded, they are usually oriented to the existing legal forces and governments in every part of the world.

The Russians are unconventional in many respects and their orientation is usually to the forces of the future. In their eyes the present leadership of Africa and the Middle East is no doubt a relic of a transitional nature, and the more extreme elements stand the greatest hope of succeeding in the near future, not just the far future. Not only this, but Russia is able to help both the legal government and the "forces of the future," while the Americans with their philosophy and allegiances are confined to present and legal forces in all these parts of the world.

The Russians also want to increase disquiet in every part of the non-Communist world. Disquiet is not against the Russian interest. It is against the Western approach and philosophy. The Russians are not trying to unite Kas-



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sem and Nasser. They are not trying to unite African nations except in anti-imperialism or anti-colonialism to be anti-West. They are also flexible. For them everything is possible, provided world peace is not endangered. Anything else is legal and is practical. You can assassinate prime ministers; you can buy them; you can sell them. You can do whatever you want. There is just one qualification — not to endanger world peace, not to have a global war. Localized war is tolerated. The West is against any war, any face-up or disturbances. What the Russians are interested in is a peaceful co-existence, the West is interested in the existence of peace, namely in having peace everywhere, every minute, for everybody.

East and West It must be borne in mind that there is nothing like a Western camp. There is an Eastern bloc and there are free countries. The Western bloc does not have hero figures, discipline, and international meetings, like the Soviet bloc does. The West is a free, loose organization. When somebody says that "the West" will come to anybody's help, that person may ask, "where is the West?" Is it Germany? Is it France? Is it Great Britain? Is it Canada? Is it America? All have contradictory interests. In the Middle East, England, France and the United States have different aims.

In spite of the fact that Israel is considered a Western country, and a free country, the West is ready to put the greatest amount of pressure possible on us to achieve what they think is a peaceful solution to the Middle East problem — to take back the refugees; to give up a part

of our country; not to be too strong from a military point of view. While Mr. Eisenhower was very much in love with the existence of Israel, he declared that he was not ready to be a major supplier of arms. Now Israel needs love and sympathy very much, but she also needs weapons. This is the situation we face — we have an enemy of great potential strength, while we are in a camp which is weak from a physical point of view, though strong from a moral point of view. What are we to do under such circumstances?

First of all, we have to be ready to meet a military attack — there is no alternative to this simple and basic assumption, nothing else, no speeches, no slogans, no approaches. With new weapons, a new Russian plane is able to cross Israel in seven minutes and bomb every part and every point in our country. Now, it takes more than seven minutes to make a speech. A concentration of several hundred heavy and medium tanks in the Sinai Peninsula endangers our independence and our peace in a matter of hours. There was such a concentration in February, 1960.

Varied Deterrents The second point is to create a deterrent, a psychological, political and military deterrent. From time to time we use military weapons to create a psychological deterrent. In addition we must not be defeated, without war, by political pressure or other methods. If 500,000 Arab refugees are taken back into Israel, this would be such a defeat. So would be the surrender of part of our country.

One must neither exaggerate the military danger nor underestimate it. Both attitudes are dangerous. A Western military expert says that during the Sinai Campaign one Israeli tank was equal to five Egyptians. In 1960 one Israeli was equal to three Egyptians. By 1965, perhaps, one Israeli will be equal to two Egyptians. I think this calculation is very good when written in an article, but I would not like to use it as an "appreciation" of the forces of Egypt versus Israel.

Arms Acquisitions In order to protect ourselves, we must acquire modern arms, both for war and as a deterrent (which is not always the same thing). We apply on the Israel scene the philosophy of America and Russia for global peace, the more powerful our deterrent, the more likely is peace. So we must create and maintain respect in the Arab world in general for Israel military strength, our military capacity and our scientific level, and we must do all this in the most dynamic way possible. By this I mean, as an example, our peaceful efforts in Africa to surround the belt of enmity with a belt of friendship in the new independent countries of Africa and Asia. We must also try constantly to have a deterrent stronger than anything the Arabs have. I am sure that, if we possess such a strong deterrent, we will maintain respect for us and will be able to act dynamically to create new friendships throughout the world. Only by such means can we hope to avoid an unwelcome third round in our part of the world.

IN REMEMBRANCE

AMERICANS AND CANADIANS

"The efficiency of our military services would have been severely impaired had it not been for the Mahal volunteers who came to us from the United States, Canada, South Africa, and other countries. They formed approximately twenty per cent of our armed forces during the War of Liberation."

— DAVID BEN-GURION

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After 13 Years—Israeli At Last

By a Special Correspondent

NOW that Israel is entering its Bar Mitzva year, it is gratifying to learn from the highest authorities that we are relieved of a burden that many of us both here and abroad have borne with discipline, since the State was born. Like the father of a Bar Mitzva boy, we can at last after the traditional fast, feel the relief of this particular responsibility.

We refer to the burden of having to use the noun "Israel" as an adjective, a cumbersome grammatical practice that we have carried out faithfully, however much it faltered on our lips, since the morning of May 14, 1948. It was then that a number of terminological decisions were taken. "Am I to be Foreign Secretary or Foreign Minister?" asked Mr. Moshe Shertok (as he then was) musingly. "Are we to be Israelis, Israelians or Israelites?" The first cables that went out to the nations of the world, informing them of the establishment of the State and requesting its recognition, went out over the designation "Minister of Foreign Affairs."

It was also laid down in those early days that citizens of Israel were to be known as

Israelis, but that the noun "Israel" was found to be unsuitable for anything belonging to the country.

For 13 years, the official adjective has remained the "Israeli" as, for example, the "Israeli Navy", whereas common usage has increasingly adopted "Israel". For those who work with the written word, particularly those who wield the copy-readers' blue pencil and the proof-readers' pen, thousands of working hours must have gone into making the necessary corrections on manuscripts and galley sheets.

But now, on the Bar Mitzva of the State, we are to become free men again, writing as we speak. In reply to a somewhat exasperated appeal from a reader of this newspaper, Mrs. Lillie Pfeffer of New York, who wrote: "I am at a loss to understand why 'Israeli' is not the correct adjective form and I hope you can tell me by what logic this is so," the Editor referred her letter to the two major authorities — Mr. Moshe Sharet and Mr. Walter Eytan.

In their replies both these authorities now admit that they have bowed to the power of common usage.

Mr. Sharet, whose punctilious regard for linguistic pur-

ity is a byword, wrote:

In theory, it was found appropriate at a certain stage to impart to the term "Israeli" the connotation of a noun (I am an Israeli) like "I am an Englishman or a Frenchman", while using "Israel" in addition to its being the name of the country or state, also as an adjective: an Israeli citizen, an Israeli ship, Israeli currency, etc. I suppose the idea was that if "Israeli" was used as an adjective, then to describe a person who belongs to Israel one would have to resort to the form "Israelian" — and this appeared undesirable in practice. "Israeli" is used as both noun and adjective, and I for one would not urge any special effort to eradicate this usage. Anyhow, some measure of overlapping seems unavoidable, since even in the former case "Israel" would be used both as a noun (country) and an adjective, just as in the latter case the same kind of duality would apply to "Israeli".

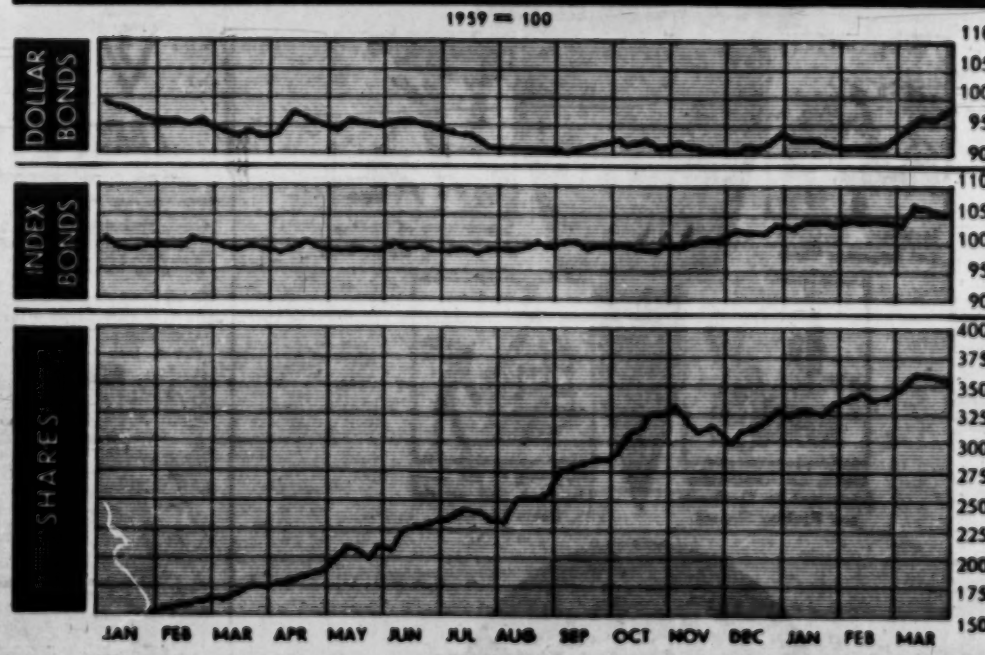
Mr. Eytan, for so many years the Director-General of the Foreign Ministry, agrees with Mr. Sharet, adding that "Israel" as an adjective was originally designed for official use and that was why the question arose in the

Foreign Ministry in particular.

"I must say," he writes, "that 'Israel' as an adjective, in this restricted sphere, does offend me as a sense of language. It is more usual to speak of the 'Pakistan Government' or, for example, than of the 'Pakistani Government'. Compare, too, the 'United States Government' (a more current and certain more official) with the 'American Government'. Similarly, one speaks of 'an Argentinean' but of 'the Argentine Government'. The 'Israel Government' seems to me to be linguistically, at least, in the same class."

Like Mr. Sharet, Mr. Eytan notes that "Israeli" has in common English speech, been applied to anything that is of Israel, so that it is normal now, and consequently not incorrect, to speak of an "Israeli bus" or an "Israeli village". These two authoritative opinions, taken as laying for once and for all the heavy ghost of "Israel" as the only permissible adjective. So all who have anything to do with the printed or spoken English word may now salute the Israel Government and common Israeli usage.

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The Extermination of Hungarian Jewry

Following are further extracts from the Attorney-General's opening address at the trial of Adolf Eichmann

IN 1944 Hungary was the only country within the sphere of influence of the Reich left with a considerable Jewish population. There were about 800,000 Jews living in Hungary.

Since 1942 there had been constant Nazi pressure on the Hungarian government to fall in line on the Jewish question. At first, the promise was made that Jewish property would be turned over to Hungary.

The Magyars, however, contented themselves in the first place with legislation denying the Jews a number of rights. Prime Minister Kallay did not hide his anti-Semitic feelings, but he did not agree to throw the Jews to the wolves. Replying to a question from a member of the Arrow Cross party in the Hungarian parliament, Kallay stated on December 7, 1942, that it was not appropriate for imprisoning the Jews in labour camps and ghettos.

Eichmann was already looking forward to the extermination of Hungarian Jewry. When the German Foreign Ministry proposed action against Jews who had taken refuge in Hungary, Eichmann stated that he objected to partial operations. On September 28, 1942, he wrote:

"In my view, it would be necessary for this purpose to set up a special machine... without thereby bringing us closer to the solution of the Jewish question in Hungary... It would be better to wait until Hungary is ready to receive her quota in the scope of this operation."

So he waited for his quarry, and he knew that it would not escape him.

In the meantime, German anger grew, and in April 1943, Kallay, Regent of Hungary, was summoned to a meeting at the Klesheim Palace with Hitler and his Foreign Minister, Ribbentrop. According to a minute of the conversation, Ribbentrop declared that there were only two alternatives: to imprison the Jews in concentration camps, or to exterminate them. Hitler said that the Jews should be treated like tuberculous bacilli, and showed his knowledge of history in the following statement:

Peoples who have not been

Eichmann Planner and Executive

THE arch exterminator himself took his place at the head of this group controlling the dirty work in the field. Here he appears not only as the one who pulls the strings, directs, plans, stimulates and is generally responsible for implementation, but also as an independent executive officer. Himmler had laid down that Eichmann was his plenipotentiary, according to the evidence given by Valda Gabor, the Hungarian Minister of the Interior. His faithful colleague was Andre, the Hungarian Secretary of State for Jewish Affairs.

The lesson of the Warsaw Ghetto revolt had been well learned. Eichmann was determined that this disaster should never be repeated. Particular attention was devoted to ensuring that it would never occur to the Jews to revolt or attempt to escape and save their property. The Nazi aim was to murder and to inherit at one and the same time. The entire familiar programme of oppression was put into action here at one fell swoop — accompanied, as usual, by inducements and the raising of false hopes. Expectations of rescue were raised while the property was being plundered; consideration was shown in trivial matters; and the illusion was spread that no harm would come to those Jews who were ready to work.

But in the meantime all the necessary preparations were being made in the death camps, which had already actually ceased operations. Rudolph Hoess was ordered to set Auschwitz in motion again and to make all preparations for intensified extermination, and he arrived in Budapest to coordinate arrangements with Eichmann. Eichmann insisted on an intake of frequent transports. Finally they compromised: two trains one day and three the next. And indeed Auschwitz had never witnessed a period of such feverish activity in the summer and autumn of 1944. The gas chambers and furnaces worked

effectively against the Jews as deemed to extinction. One of the most famous examples is the decline of such a great and proud people as the Hungarians, who now have a miserable existence as Armenians.

Horthy was not convinced. At the end of 1942, Veesenmayer, who was later to be German Ambassador in Budapest, sent a final report to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, proposing that Germany should no longer rest content with the fact that independent Hungary was her ally, but should actually occupy the country. One of the declared purposes of the occupation was to harness Hungary to the programme of exterminating the Jews.

This was done. When Horthy was invited a second time to meet Hitler on March 17, 1944, an ultimatum was presented to him, and while he was still debating what to do, the German Army crossed the border and took control of the whole country without resistance. With the entry of the Germans, Eichmann and his special unit moved in.

Eichmann brought into Hungary his whole staff of murderers, who together with him had carried out the various programmes in the various conquered lands: Krüger, Wisniewski, Novak, Berger, Alala Brunner and others, all those who had gained experience through the extermination of Jews in the death camps.

He already greeted their efficiency and talent, now swooped down upon them. Here they could not wait. The Soviet Army had already re-occupied the Carpathian mountains. There was serious ground for the fear that if the destroyers did not carry out their evil work quickly, they would never be able to do so. The top echelon of the SS was therefore assembled here after being released from their duties in other countries, where the extermination programme had been completed or was continuing without them. Here then was an apparent sense of urgency in all their activities. A desire to finish the job at all costs, a need to concentrate all efforts, a determination to work at times to skip some of them, to shorten procedures, with the result as quickly as possible.

It is doubtful whether the Nazis ever longer believed at that time that they could win the war, but they wanted at least to complete the destruction of the Jews.



The death camps. Jews were also sent to death in smaller camps.

shion," so he wrote on July 24, 1944, that "emigration to Palestine within the scope of this operation will not be approved." He complained about the Swedish and Swiss Embassies issuing the Jews papers which enabled them to emigrate from Hungary. The main target of his venom was a young Swedish diplomat, Raoul Wallenberg, an architect by profession and a man of sterling qualities, who had made the rescue of Jews his life's vocation. His deeds, like those of King Christian of Denmark, again give rise to the sombre thought: how many could have been saved, even in the countries of actual extermination, had there only been many others like him among those who had the

power to act, whether openly or in secret.

It is not surprising that Eichmann released a flood of anger against this liberator. The Swedish Embassy in Berlin lodged a complaint that Eichmann had told the Red Cross in Budapest he had it in mind to shoot "the Jewish dog" Wallenberg. The Foreign Ministry apologized to the Ambassador, stating that no doubt the words were not seriously meant. In the written exchange it was explained that Eichmann's reaction had to be understood against the background of Wallenberg's "illegal" activities to rescue Hungarian Jewry, and were meant to restrain him from persisting in his efforts.

Eichmann Countermanded Horthy

ACCORDING to an official report of their Foreign Ministry, the Germans had succeeded, up to the end of June, in sending 437,402 Jews for extermination. Horthy's instructions frustrated the plans prepared for the middle of July 1944 to deport all the Jews of Budapest on one day by mobilizing all available manpower, including even conscript workers and postmen. The details of the plan were drawn up together with Eichmann. The Germans looked for a convenient excuse for this lightning operation, and the Director of the Foreign Ministry Press Office suggested that explosives "be discovered" in synagogues. Veesenmayer rejected the suggestion on the grounds that

the synagogues had for a long time been under the strict supervision of the police and therefore the excuse would not hold water. In spite of Horthy's order, Eichmann tried to continue the deportations. At the beginning of July he attempted to dispatch an extermination transport from the Kistaros Camp. The matter became known to the Budapest Jewish leaders, who intervened with Horthy, who ordered that the transport be stopped at the border and sent back. When the second one was dispatched, the whole of the Community Council a second time, ostensibly for discussion, and broke them up. Eichmann, who was in the midst of the day with his agents in Kistaros, learned of this and sent on his way. As has now been ascertained, the com-

mander replied that instructions had been given to move about 12,000 deportees to Vienna and that they were to be kept in closed camps. The women, children and those incapable of work would be taken for "special operations," i.e. extermination.

However, the representatives of Hungarian Jewry were informed by Eichmann and his accomplices that Jews could be saved "by consigning them to Austria." In return for ransom money, anyone paying as demanded would be saved by traveling to Austria. Eichmann said that he would be prepared to "keep on ice" his own expression in Austria 30,000 Jews capable of work; the families would live in camps at the expense of the Budapest Jews. In return, he demanded a ransom of 5 million Swiss francs, the equivalent of 200 dollars per head. Some 15,000 Jews were apparently consigned to Austria in this way.

Now once again were the Jews at their mercy. Eichmann, who had left Budapest when the deportations had ceased on Horthy's instructions, returned on October 18, and the operations against the Jews were renewed with full vigour.

And now, with the infamous operation known as "The Death March," came the finale of Eichmann's campaign of murder. There were no longer any trains available. Himmler had in the meantime ordered all exterminations to be stopped, but Eichmann found a way to circumvent Himmler's instructions. He organized the help of his Hungarian Fascist allies, a march of Jews in the direction of Austria, ostensibly to provide labour for fortifications, but actually to murder them.

Eichmann's calculation was simple: the weak would fall by the way, the sturdy would arrive at their destination to build the fortifications, and would afterwards be destroyed. The march began in November in rain, snow and cold, along a 200-kilometre route. They lodged in the open or in plastic. Thus were the women, children and old folk deported. Anyone who found the walking difficult was shot by the guard, who beat and killed hundreds committed suicide or died of the typhus raging among the marchers. The food allocated once every few days consisted of hot water and some bread. People died like flies; the whole route was strewn with corpses. The number of those who fell by the way is estimated at six to ten thousand. The horrors attained such proportions that even the escorting Hungarian officers and soldiers began to mutiny, and requested that they be sent to the front. The intervention of Szalai, the Hungarian Prime Minister, put an end to the march, had no effect.

Then an astonishing thing occurred. Himmler himself reprimanded Eichmann for leaving Hungary for neutral countries. Eichmann took steps, reported by Veesenmayer in the following terms to the Foreign Ministry on July 25, 1944:

It has been agreed with Eichmann that when the removal of the deportations of the Budapest Jews... becomes possible, these should be carried out with the utmost dispatch, so quickly that the Jews who come into question for emigration be deported before they have time for any formalities.

Austria, at that time, was in urgent need of workers for fortification work. The German war plan expected heavy defensive battles to be fought in this region. At the beginning of June 1944, Eichmann acted over and above any instructions. To frustrate any possibility of the Jews leaving Hungary for neutral countries, Eichmann took steps, reported by Veesenmayer in the following terms to the Foreign Ministry on July 25, 1944:

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'Blood for Goods' Offer

THE mass deportations began in the middle of May 1944. Reports came on the different stages of the operations, the details of which were worked out by Eichmann. While negotiations marked by extortions and promises of rescue, were in progress, a daily average of 12,000 were being deported. Parallel negotiations interspersed with threats of extermination and promises of rescue were in progress between Eichmann, Kastner and Joel Brandt. Kastner was the representative of the Jewish Rescue Committee and it was Brandt who was chosen as the emissary to bring Germany's fantastic offer — "Blood for Goods" — to the Western World. Jews were to be saved in return for trucks, coffee, tea, and soap.

According to Ribbentrop's testimony at the Nuremberg Trial, the Foreign Minister promptly intervened to cancel the deal, since it would be beneath German dignity to receive payment in return for stopping the extermination. Kurt Becher, a high-ranking S.S. officer, was delegated by Himmler to conduct these negotiations and his aim was to extort as much as possible from the Hungarian Jewish community. Himmler told Becher that he could promise what he liked: "What we shall carry out, however, is a different matter."

Schellenberg, a high-ranking S.S. officer, explained that Himmler had something else entirely in mind in allowing these people to be rescued. Himmler, he said, wanted to earn himself a good name in the Western press, to assume the role of a terminator of the murders, the redeeming angel with whom it would be proper to establish contact with a view to a cease-fire and armistice.

But there was one man who disapproved of the whole deal, who carried out Himmler's instructions to send Brandt to Istanbul with notable distaste, who strove with all his might to sustain the extermination and murder operations. This man was Adolf Eichmann. He started mass deportations immediately after Joel Brandt had departed. He announced that if an immediate affirmative reply was not received from Brandt, "I shall let the Auschwitz mills work" and, while making a pretence that the survivors would be saved if the deal succeeded, he persisted in his satanic extermination operations.

The looting of Jewish property continued, as did the arrests. Naturally the Jews tried to escape, particularly to Palestine. Eichmann knew of this and insisted on energetic steps to seal all outlets. "It should be explained to the Jews," he said, "that in an unequivocal and clear-cut

THE HORROR OF THE DEATH CAMPS

(Continued from Previous Page)

There were hundreds of concentration camps, collection and transit camps in Germany and the occupied territories. Insofar as the Jews were concerned, all of them had a single aim: their extermination. And even if the Nazis had not introduced direct extermination methods, it would not have taken long for the ghetto and labour-camp inmates to die of starvation, exhaustion and disease. But the "final solution" was not to be kept waiting, and extermination camps were therefore erected.

In the other camps, such as Mauthausen, Bergen-Belsen and Dachau, thousands and tens of thousands also perished as a result of the planned maintenance of a state of life which was bound to kill. In these camps too, Eichmann had control over all matters pertaining to Jews, and we shall submit evidence to prove it. In these opening remarks, however, I wish only to dwell on the Jewish camps known as extermination camps.

In Hitler's book, "Mein Kampf," the idea of exterminating Jews by poison gas is already mentioned. He wrote that 12-15 million Jews had been poisoned during the First World War, a million Germans would have been saved after the Einsatzgruppen murder operations by shooting, had the idea been mooted, as I have already mentioned, to use gas against the Jews. The first experiments were made by Globocnik in Poland, and Eichmann, who realized its effectiveness, was entrusted with the process for the implementation of the "final solution."

Selection Horror at Maidanek

THE Maidanek camp, near Lublin, was established in 1941. At first, prisoners of war were detained here, but later Jews began to arrive from Czechoslovakia, France and Greece, and the camp grew. It contained separate units called "fields." In the spring of 1942 gas extermination installations were constructed, as well as two ovens to burn the bodies. In the summer of the same year Polish Jews began to arrive in large numbers.

In the spring of 1943 the Jewish deportees from Warsaw arrived at Maidanek and immediately the killings were speeded up, reaching a climax in November when, in one day, 14,000 Jews were shot. Jewish prisoners were brought in their tens of thousands to the gas chambers without even undergoing registration or selection. The women's hair was shorn; gold teeth extracted. Evidence was later found confirming that nine crates of gold and valuables were dispatched to the Reich from Maidanek. The death rate in the camp was frightful — some 140 people a day. Children died like flies. The selection procedure at the Maidanek Camp was as follows: males to the right, females to the left; children and old folk to the centre. Mothers who clung to their children were separated by the lash. You will hear the evidence of a woman who obstinately refused to let go of her baby. An S.S. man approached her, smashed the child's head on the ground, and handed the woman the blood-soaked body with the words: "Now take your child." There were cases when babies were torn apart by the bare hands before the very eyes of the mothers, who went out of their minds in horror.

In Maidanek, there was only one place where the children were treated kindly: at the entrance to the gas chambers each one was handed a sweet. To all intents and purposes, the prisoners were at the mercy of all S.S. men in the camp, who could kill or out-

rage them at will. Every Sunday a "run" was held. All the prisoners were obliged to run and anyone who lost a wooden shoe or stumbled was killed on the spot. According to the estimate of the Polish Government committee, at least 200,000 Jews were destroyed at Maidanek. The Treblinka camp was set up in the Warsaw district in an isolated region close to a small Polish village; it was in existence from 1942-1943. Years after the Germans themselves had destroyed the camp in November 1943, domestic items clothing and suitcases were still left scattered about the place. It was still possible to find in the area mounds of sand intermingled with human ashes and bones.

Here, camouflage devices were employed on the threshold of the camp. A sham railway station was built with sign-boards indicating an imaginary restaurant, bus-stop, transit point to other stations, a waiting room, signals and the like. It was all so arranged that from the outside, the illusion would be preserved that Treblinka was just another normal camp. But it was difficult to cling to the illusion for any length of time. Waiting at the station, stood S.S. men and Ukrainian police, who would lash out at the arrivals with whips to get them to alight from the coaches. Dawdlers were shot on the spot.

In the camp itself, a further attempt at camouflage was made. Sick people, invalids, old folk and children would be transferred to a hut adorned with the Red Cross and the sign "Hospital." Inside was a "waiting room" furnished with upholstered couches, with an exit to another place. Here an S.S. man stood, and as the person entered would shoot him in the back of the neck and throw him into the pit. All these "arrangements" were made so that those entering the gas chambers could proceed without undue interruption and without any interference from

the "slower" victims. The bodies of those who had died en route in the wagons, or had been killed on arrival, were also thrown into the "Hospital."

At the station the new arrivals were ordered to hand over all the money and valuables in their possession. The victims' effects were sorted, repaired and sent to Germany. We know of 263 wagon-loads of clothing alone which were sent in this way.

Before the killing, the women's hair would be clipped, and the remaining belongings of the candidates for execution were pillaged. The hair was placed in sacks and sent to Germany. The males were then ordered to undress and chased into the gas chambers to the accompaniment of beatings and blows from rifle butts. Thus they were herded

Last-Minute Resistance

THERE was a case of a transport of Jews from Grodno who resisted entering the gas chambers. One of them even threw a grenade at the murderers. Ukrainian assistants immediately, deadly fire was opened up and the Jews were chased fully clothed into the extermination chambers. It may be stated that at least 7,500 wagon-loads of Jews arrived at Treblinka bringing to their deaths at least 750,000 people. It was here that hundreds of thousands of Warsaw Jews met their end, together with deportees from Radom, Czestochowa, Kielce and Bialystok, Jews from Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Belgium and Greece. Old people from Theresienstadt were also sent to Treblinka for extermination.

Secret preparations for an uprising were made in Treblinka. The ring-leader was a physician, Chaim Rumkowski, on whom the Germans found a sum of money intended for the mothers. The doctors knew what to expect and immediately swallowed poison. The murderers made strenuous efforts to resist, but they might as well have tried to resist the tide. Rumkowski opened his mouth and a hole poured water down his throat and began jumping on his stomach in his jacket. But Dr. Rumkowski was already dead, and the S.S. butchers had only to wait until he began to pour out their reason.

Plans for the uprising were secret. A number of prisoners joined forces, succeeded somehow in stealing a small amount of dynamite. On August 2, 1943, attacked the guards, who included S.S. men and Ukrainians. In spite of their lack of arms, they succeeded in breaking through the wire fence and escaping. This incident marked the beginning of the dissolution of the camp, and in November, 1943, its operations ceased entirely. The Germans ploughed over the area and settled Ukrainians on the site. Chaim Rumkowski, in German Kuesten, in the vicinity of Lodz, was erected from the very outset solely as an extermination camp. At this place people were not employed in any way or utilized for labour—they were slaughtered immediately. The S.S. commander would tell the new arrivals that they were being taken to work, and that before their departure they would have to wash and hand over their garments for disinfection. They would be infected to a building, in which

inside naked, their hands above their heads, so that more people could be squeezed into the chamber. The hatch was then closed, the engine was switched on and the poison gas killed them. Here, too, when the chamber doors were opened, the gold teeth were extracted once the gas fumes had dispersed, and the bodies hung into pits. Later on, installations were constructed to burn the bodies. There is one case of a man who was thrown into the death pit while still alive. He succeeded in escaping, but the farmers of whom he asked shelter handed him over to the camp command. He was brutally attacked by an S.S. man, Kurt Franz, who finally killed him by beating with a stick. This Franz had a big strong dog, who was trained at the "Jude" to pounce on a prisoner and bite him.

they undressed on the walls were prominently placed signs reading: "to the doctor," "to the wash room." The Jews would then be ordered to go out naked, or with nothing but a shirt to their bodies and enter grey vehicles marked "Sonderwagen" each one of which held 80-100 people. These were told, would take them to the "wash place." When the doors were closed, the engine was switched on and the victims killed by exhaust fumes. Once the screams had died down, the vehicle moved off to the nearby forest where Jewish forced labourers would remove the bodies. After the teeth had been extracted and the rings removed, they would throw the bodies into pre-prepared pits. They worked with their legs in chains. They were put to death from time to time, and new forced labourers chosen from the transports. The exterminations at Chelmno began at the end of 1941. Here too, within a few months, the bodies of the Jews were removed and after the bones had been ground down, they were thrown in pits or thrown into the river.

In April, 1943, the extermination camp ceased operating and the furnaces were demolished. In 1944 it became apparent that the work was not yet completed; the camp was re-established and new furnaces installed. Once again they operated in accordance with the well-worn procedure: death by gas and the burning of the bones. A number of months later the business of slaughter was completed. The killers dismantled the camp, obliterated the evidence of their murders and set about executing the forced labourers, now called "Sonderkommando" who had been engaged in burning the bodies. A few of them resisted, and two succeeded in escaping. They were the only four survivors of this camp who were left alive to tell the world of its horrors.

According to a conservative estimate, some 340,000 Jews were exterminated at Chelmno. These were mainly from Poland, Austria, Czechoslovakia, France, Luxembourg, and Holland, who had passed through the Lodz ghetto.

Ashes and Indignities

SOBIBOR was another extermination camp set up at the beginning of 1942 in the Lublin district. Here, as elsewhere, Polish investigators after their liberation uncovered mounds of ashes, bones and human fat. Here, too, there were gas chambers and installations for burning the bodies. People who begged for a drink of water were taken to the public lavatories and smeared with feces.

Sobibor was a terminal for large transports and, according to the estimate of the Polish authorities, at least a quarter of a million Jews were exterminated there. The men and women were stripped naked and led in single file in long rows to the gas chambers. As in other places, the old people and children were shot separately, so as not to get in the way of those marching to the gas chambers. Sobibor was the grave of Jews from Poland, Holland, Czechoslovakia, Austria, and France. Here, too, the familiar process of plundering the belongings, extracting the teeth, and clipping the hair was repeated.

Sobibor was also the scene of an uprising. In October, 1943, a few hundred prisoners escaped to the forest after a number of Jewish workers employed in the camp mutilated, succeeded in getting hold of arms and killed some of the S.S. men. Following the uprising the camp was dismantled and the buildings demolished, and the Germans planted

a wood over the graves of their victims. The extermination camp at Belzec, on the road between Lublin and Lowow, was set up in the winter of 1941. By the end of February, 1942, the first transports arrived. The Jews transported to this camp came from Lublin and district and from Eastern and Western Poland. It was here that Galician Jewry was done to death, in addition to many Jews from other countries. When the trains arrived at Belzec, as at other camps, many of the deportees had lost their minds through exhaustion. Each transport comprised 10-40 railway carriages. I should like to quote a description of one such transport from Lowow, consisting of 6,700 people. The S.S. men and the Ukrainian assistants are already waiting at the station:

The wagon doors open and the people, in the language of the instructions, are ordered to get out. The instructions are relayed over loudspeakers; everyone is ordered to hand over clothes and belongings—crutches and spectacles as well... All valuables and money are handed over at the window marked "Valuables"...

After this the march begins. To the right and left there are barbed wire fences, and at the rear scores of Ukrainians with rifles. The women, girls, children, babies, one-legged people, all of them naked as the day they were born, march together.

At its corner, before the entrance to the building, stands a smiling S.S. man who declares in an ingratiating voice: "No harm will befall you. All



German guard watches over parade of naked prisoners of the Mathausen death camp. Many died of exposure.

you have to do," he says, "is to strengthen the lungs; inhaling is necessary as a means of disinfection. He is asked what will happen to the women and replies that the men will of course have to work at road and housing construction. The women, he says, will not have to work. They may, if they want, help in the kitchen or do housework."

For a number of men there still lingers a lingering hope, sufficient to make them march without resistance to the death chambers. The majority know with certainty what is to be their fate. The horrible smell that pervades everywhere reminds them of the truth.

Then they climb some small steps and behold the reality. Naked mothers hold babies in their breasts, naked; there are day children of all ages, naked. They hesitate, but nevertheless proceed towards the death chambers, most of them without a word, pushed by those behind, carried by the whip of the S.S. men.

The S.S. men queue people into the chambers. "Fill them up with Jews," says Wirth. The naked people stand in the fields and in the forests. From those firms to which the workers were consigned for labour, the camp command used to receive six marks a day, the prisoner's maintenance amounting to 20 pfennig. Before death, profit was made out of the sweat of Jewish toil. But labour promised life; so people tried to remain healthy, to stand upright, to swell out a lean breast, to raise their heads; to act as if there were nothing

wrong with them. Otherwise, Doctor Mengele would point his finger to the left during the selection parade. To the left meant death. The fate of 500 people was decided in these screenings, in about a quarter of an hour. Anyone classified as incapable of work was removed to a special place in expectation of death. If this was late in coming for a day or two, the guards did not trouble to feed the victims.

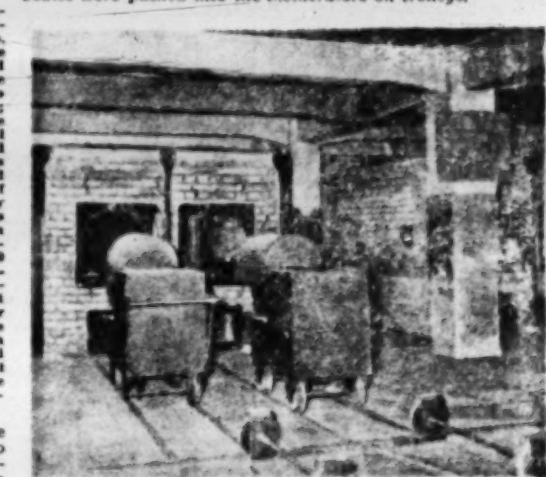
In the registration cards of the Jewish prisoners which have been discovered, it was recorded who sent them to Auschwitz. Department IVB 4 of the RSHA.

At Auschwitz, medical experiments were made on human beings as if they were guinea pigs. Parts of female sex organs were cut out, or limbs were subjected to X-rays until the unfortunate creatures written in pain prior to their death. Men were castrated; experiments made on the influence of paraffin and petrol fumes on human skin, and the effects of chemical substances on mental resistance. Associated with this was a collection of skeletons found at Strasbourg by soldiers of the Allied Forces who were ordered to bury the skulls of Jewish Communist Commissars. The letters have been preserved and we shall submit them to the Court.

The prisoners who were brought to the camp and who were not destined for immediate extermination would go through a quarantine process. Here the first selection of the prisoners was made: by starvation and torture. Sometimes they were held in quarantine for days and weeks. Thousands of people were held in horse stables; frequently there was not sufficient room in these stables and people were left in the open. When winter came they were left in snow and mud. At parades the prisoners would be commanded to stand from evening until noon the following day without moving. They had to sing at the command of the "captain" and to carry out frightful "physical exercises" crawling, standing and rolling. The Germans tried to cover up their tracks to wipe out the memory of the hell they had created. The burning of



The hands of Adolf Eichmann, photographed at his trial in Jerusalem. Below are the crematoria at Auschwitz. The bodies were pushed into the incinerators on trolleys.



the bodies in crematoria began in 1942 under an order transmitted by Eichmann to the Auschwitz commander through Standartenführer Bieler. Afterwards, as a prelude to the dismantling of the camp, they changed the names of the places, turned crematoria into air raid shelters, demolished furnaces, transformed execution sheds into sham clinics, burned documents and books. In the confusion of the demolitions, in early 1945, a hut was burned down together with all the sick prisoners in it. Some of the installations were blown up. Other prisoners were evacuated in a dreadful route march to the West. The Nazis believed that their crimes would not be revealed, that their secret would remain intact. But the secret of these atrocities has been laid bare, and we must fulfil the dying injunction of an anonymous poetess who wrote, before being put to death in Auschwitz: "There is no more hope in the dust. Among the barbed wire, under the ruins. And our dust is scattered in the dust. Out of the broken jars. Our army will go forth, skilful and just. And bone to bone, a merciless line. We, the hunted, the hunters, will cry out to you: The murderer demands justice at your hands!"

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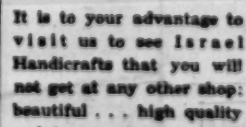
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